1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

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the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand.

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include.

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The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

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eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ōosh ol-oiboni engidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nējōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaoah.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ējo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ōaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Nastaaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-glshu, nelau 'l-kulikae.

Nējo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatējo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The son of sickness (?).
[3] The Somali.

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791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ônana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nêjo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Nêji Ol-Ônana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 793 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok nêji enotôki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ôtadôuo te-'ng-aí. Netum il-Aiser, nêjo en-gerai amu oti nalefig, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neíu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan tó their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-nêä, nêjôki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa nêja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Nêji opa eton eitu epwônu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwônu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oahon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore sii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[103] [1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

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ĕă, nējōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gĭshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ooăn in-găk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter aii 'l-chañgit aaă, neitōki taa 'n-gĭshu.'

Nesipayu nenna pokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nĕă 'n-gĭshu.

Ore ĕă 'n-gĭshu, nĕă aii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nĕă, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nējōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aă; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gĭshu te-'ng-ai. Naa, tini indurudu, niăă te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gĭshu pôkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nĕari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nējōki 'l-paiyani pôkin: 'Aĭya,' nepwo.

Ore p' eidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendĕu, nējōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nējo Sendĕu: 'Aĭya,' nelo airura.

Ore ējōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadĕkenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nājo: 'Papa, aĕuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.'

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890).

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.'

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

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791 Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-móruo
173 kitok eata eng-oñgn nabo
662 ake, nemedol en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, aa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon,' nējo: 'Iye oitore 'l-aashera-linōno o ol-orere pōkin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ōnana 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

173 Ore p' eidip ashōmo, nejiñg
578 Sendēu eng-aji e-menye, nē-
791 jōkīni: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naleñg Sendēu, nējo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ōnaa nēā 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nējo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ōnana ol-oiboni lañg, amu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye aaboitare Ol-Ōnana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake ējo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni lañg elle, amu etele-
[628] jishe.' Nepwo ninje aasuj Sendēu.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a cheat,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[175] [2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

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Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendēu, nemweiyu, nēā 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gīshu enye, nēar sii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototo nío aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gīshu, anaa en-netējo 'M-Batyany.

Nēara Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-arin kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-ñgole asai ol-alashe, neishori eton aaboita, neitayu o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nēā Ol-Ōnana, negelu en-gerai enye naiyōlōu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengei. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tuñganak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe eniñg il-tuñganak o-rorei lenye.

Naa, ten ēosh ol-oiboni ol-tuñgani to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'L-oitai (i. e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Neliang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njemps, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

117 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

[921]

101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21¼ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph. 174

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area. 173

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him. 173 173

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded. [6 14]

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century. 174 A3

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of 173

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 174 114 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana.
		The Great War.
		Fight between Dwati and Dareto at lol Kisali.
		Return of laibon to Tanganyika.
		Mbeiya belonged to this age.
KISALE)	1926	Death of Parrit.
)		Death of Sendeyo.
MERISHO)	1935	Death of Mbeiya.

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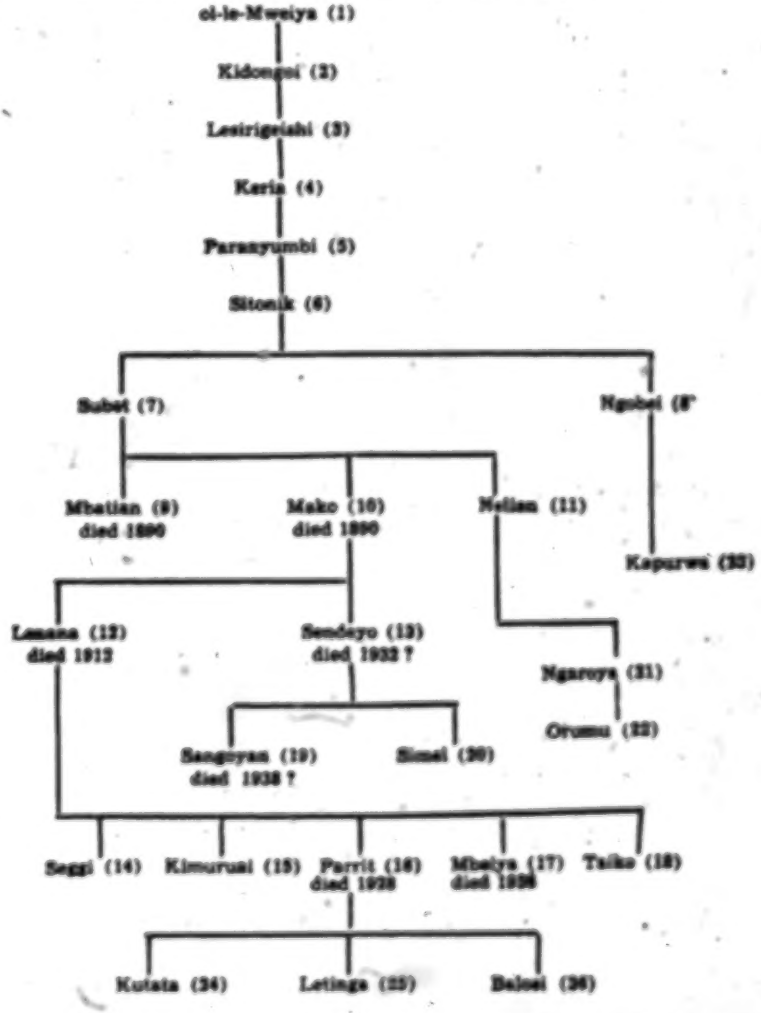
GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.* 128

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded. 791

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Lsiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon. 173 791

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened. 182 791

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring 791

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

799 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*Il kerpellis*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 596 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

473 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Eudigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tuati, Il Tulala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Tuati, Il Kidutu, I Mwishare, Il Tingi, Il Sokonk*, and *Il Mashopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Eudigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naitoru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Eudigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adeolo. Meaning unknown

Or'at — Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ângi Oing'ok — When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Ingweria ol o Ingokua — When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Ukpusyi Ingokua — When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Gaja Orok — The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

taken to a pastoral and agricultural life; the Iraqw and Gorowa are pastoral and agriculturalist hill people.

TRIBAL TRADITIONS

Nandi Group

Traditions of the Nandi stock take the group northwards to Kamalinga (Nepak), a hill 45 miles north-west of Mount Elgon; but beyond this point we can only speculate. Traditions of the Pok describe the Nandi, Pok, and Sapei as living on Elgon (from the top of which, they say, a stream of fire ran down in past times).[9]

The movements of the group seem to have been somewhat as follows. The first concentration of Nandi-speakers was undoubtedly on Mount Elgon. The Hill Suk were perhaps the first to break away from Elgon. They were followed by the ancestors of the Tuken and Keyo of the Rift Valley, while another body went south and became the Kipsikis, from whom the Terik are an offshoot. The Nandi came into existence through the settlement on the southern escarpment that bears their name of some people from the Kony of Elgon under the leadership of a man named Kakipoc, about the beginning of the 17th century; these were joined by others from the Kipsikis, Keyo, and Tuken. It is curious that though Kakipoc was a Kony, relations with the Kony have seldom been noticeably friendly, for the Kony were one of the Nandi tribes raided by the Nandi. Between the Kipsikis and the Nandi, however, there seems always to have been friendship, for the Nandi describe themselves and the Kipsikis as "one people."[10] Friendship with the Keyo and Tuken has been intermittent. After their establishment on the escarpment, the Nandi gradually spread northwards, reaching the Kipkaren valley some time during the 19th century, perhaps about 1860–70. Most of their history till about 1860 is concerned with the Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai who lived alongside them on the east, with no natural barrier to prevent the Masai from entering Nandi whenever they pleased, for at this time the Nandi, though a tribe of warrior herdsmen, were probably not very powerful, and had perhaps only about the middle of the 19th century begun to adopt their present distinctive arms and ornaments. Moreover it was probably not till after the disappearance of the Il-Wuasin-kishu that they became the formidable fighting people that they were latterly.

The Suk are divided into the Hill Suk, who hunt, practise agriculture with a system of channel irrigation, and keep only a few cattle; and the Plains Suk, who are pastoral. The Hill Suk, who may have provided the tribal language which is spoken by both Hill and Plains people, appear to have broken off from the settlement of the Nandi stock on Elgon, and settled in the Suk hills to the east. The Plains Suk, on the other hand, seem to be the people with whom Turkana tradition claims an early association in the country east of the Karamojog escarpment, and whom the Turkana after a time drove south-eastwards out of this area. This division of the Suk is divided into two sections, Kasauria and Kipiekit, according to Beech, and formerly lived on the north side of the Turkwel River. They made several unsuccessful attempts to settle in the Kerio valley, from which they were prevented by the Turkana and Sambur; and it was not till the Sambur had been defeated that they were able to maintain a footing there; and their final establishment did not take place till the Sambur had been weakened by Masai inter-tribal wars.

Masai

Masai traditions of origin do no more than say that they came from the north; it is possible that the country round the south end of Lake Rudolf saw the first differentiation of Masai as we now know them. A Sambur tradition says that the first Sambur was found on the Loroki plateau; and traditions of the laibon clan, Il-

[9] C. W. Hobley in *JAI*, 1903, XXXIII, p. 332.
[10] Contiguity of "spirit-lands" and consequent equality of the ritual status of the land of both Kipsikis and Nandi may account partly for this relationship.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

Aiser, relate how the first laibon, Ole Mueiya, was found on the Ngong hills near Nairobi; and as an historical person, the first laibon may go back to about the middle of the 17th century. The Masai tribes were at the height of their power between about 1800 and 1850. They raided far and wide, and even Mombasa and other places on the coast were not safe from them. So constant were their raids, and so great the fear they inspired, that many Bantu tribes, notably the Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Caga, Shashi, Taveta, and others, copied their arms, ornaments, and even institutions. To the Masai, however, must be given the credit for preserving—unintentionally, of course—the highlands from the slave trade, for no caravan got through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. About 1840 the Il-Wuasin-kishu were defeated by the Il-Aikipiak in Nandi—the beginning of the overthrow of this tribe which was completed some 10 years later by an alliance between the Il-Aikipiak and Il-Kinopop, the defeated laibons taking refuge in Nandi. The Kisonko reached the southern limit of their expansion about 1830, their way being blocked by the Bantu of Tanganyika Territory; and about this time the Masai and Caga came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Masai being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Sambur were forced south by the Turkana, and the survivors of a section called Il-Doigio having lost their cattle took to agriculture at Njemps near Lake Baringo. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over much of East Africa, and the herds of the Naivasha and Laikipia Masai suffered heavily from it. In 1892 an outbreak of smallpox reduced the numbers of the Masai, already weakened by inter-tribal war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu; had the Europeans not come at this juncture, the Masai would have been reduced to serious straits under the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. At the death, about 1890, of Mbatyany, the great laibon of the Loitai, the central Masai were split by the feud between his sons, Ol-onana (Lenana) and Sendeu, over the succession. Most of the Loitai and Kaputie supported Ol-onana, but Sendeu was successful for a time, till the Il-Purko joined the followers of Ol-onana, and Sendeu was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. Three other tribes in the Naivasha district had backed Sendeu, which gives some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

The Nandi and Masai form a distinct culture group; but the Suk, though they share certain of these features, have so much affinity with the Karamojong culture that they stand alone in the Nandi group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

A.

	Karamojong Culture: Labwor and Turkana	Suk	Masai and Nandi
Shields: long and narrow	Yes	Yes	No
Chignons	Yes	Yes	No
Wrist and finger knives	Yes	Yes	No
Skin capes (males)	Yes	Yes	No
Lip plugs and nose discs	Yes	Yes	No
Headrest-stools	Yes	Yes	No
Circumcision (m. and f.)	No	Yes	Yes

• 173

[For additional information on Masai tradition, see category 773.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113) 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
• [73] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
[113] (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[802] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
• [173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Nguruman, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aiśér and El mûleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

> 1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eñg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

> 2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eñg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [784]

M 613 The El bedęs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segél. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 [613] [754] The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eñ gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [829]

D [791]

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791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening [648] of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to [755] war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [782] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [787] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

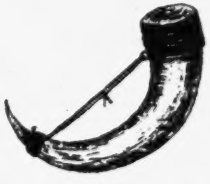

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 63 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

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/21 cont./
recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.

[826]
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That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborõn mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the Ên gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiborón of the El mûleijan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

411 [237] [386] [824]

/131 cont./ The beautifully worked scabbard (eń djaschúr, ń djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol gúmé, el gumeschi) through which the belt (eń gímétá, ń gímétán [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is stuck. [237] [53] The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (eńg ene, ńg enda). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems [174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 178 [173] According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai shields were very small (shield = ol oño). They had a circular, flat shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. [237] Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol deretál, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e reacheta)

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schábischab.

• 173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events. 173 Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, 561 incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs 791 are still to be completed:

El diēgi	ol oiboni: Kibebete.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subet.
El kidotu.	
El duati	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ńiaṅgussi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.

/339 cont./

*121 174 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 • 173 174 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were one people.

*121 173 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples occurred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

/339 cont./

#121 by any means depend on immediate and permanent sedentation.
• 173 Rather, the latter presupposes first of all a vital energy such as a
/340/ people torn out of its previous circumstances by poverty and distress no longer possesses, and then also an inner urge toward sedentation, arising only in the course of long periods of time through gradually entering into new interests and views, which conquers the inborn, hereditary inclination toward nomadism. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and seeks to obtain its customary and indispensable meat diet through hunting. The war and raiding lust inherent in the free nomad, whose goal, war, constitutes for him an economic resource through the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent sedentation. For, first of all, ruffians are uncomfortable neighbors whom people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the booty in livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the erstwhile herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which undergoes an intensification if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-nomad with the support of well-to-do fellow tribesmen as their escort.

Now the tradition of the Masai relates that with, or, better, beside and in association with, the Ameroi lived tribesmen who were impoverished even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had already learned how to acquire by stalking the meat food longed for by them. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down as agriculturalists still lay far away. Now tradition mentions among them an influential man named Ol eberet. In him
[171] I think one may recognize Eber, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 21 ff., and in the lineage named after him, the El eberet, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

/340 cont./

* 121 • 173 Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the El eberet, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the Ameroi by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Through this it is most probable that after the migration of the Masai the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people receded and was transformed into the conception of a folk name.

[171] Furthermore the tradition of the Masai reports that their separation from the Ameroi and El eberet remaining behind took place at the time the son of Ol eberet, Gereua, lived, and the Biblical account in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 25 says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible heathen, could mean nothing other than: at that time a local shift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/341/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that to the Amai of the primeval age, as whose direct descendants the present-day Masai regard themselves, belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El eberet.

* 121 173 171 173 With regard to the further fate of the El eberet-Hebrews the Masai tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El dinet (1)

1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Masai, the El eberet stood with regard to the El dinet, might be interpreted, in the sense of the meaning El dinet = Hetthiter /Hittite/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hetthiter /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

/341 cont./

*121 *173 171 173

/footnote 1 continued/ in Genesis 26, 34, which reports that Esau, Abraham's grandson, married two Hetthiter /Hittite/ women, Judith and Basmath /Basbemath/. -- That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was induced by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Hetthitish /Hittite/ wives, to set out for distant Mesopotamia in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. -- One should also note, in connection with the name El dinet, the name of Jakob's daughter by Rahel /Rachel/, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to: namely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact -- and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration -- of the Hebrews with the Hetthitern /Hittites/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the first historical moments rose up like islands out of the sea of myths. -- The Masai tradition reports further that the El dinet lived in tembes. This, however, is a hut form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hetthitern

/341 cont./

#121 • 173 [121 1175]

/footnote 1 continued/ /Hittites/, which even today still shelter the most and purest Hetthiter /Hittite/ descendants.

and lived in their vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the direction of the identity of the El eberet and Hebrews.

Just as the El dinet did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal bleed from the opened neck artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to 1st Moses /Genesis/ 9, 4; 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 3, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 19, 26, and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which later, as is well known, became elaborated into the slaughter ritual. The passages in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 17, 13, and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the last of these passages comes from the law book that allegedly was found around the year 623 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the first priesthood that had grown on Kanaanitic /Canaanitic/ soil into a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /342/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the quoted passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the herd nomads, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semite peoples of interior Africa who have become sedentary -- amid mixture with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

#121 /342 cont./
#173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state that interdict so often and emphatically as the passages quoted above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

#121 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name Jahveh
173 /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El
174 diest. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of Jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Though this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1),

> 1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

Al is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Al and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ng Ai, shows the feminine form, so Al of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A-u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

#121 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who re-
194 mained in the original homeland, the Amorei or Amorei. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible: